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TO: AMBASSADOR GEORGE BUSH
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FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT
THE WHITE HOUSE

1. THE SECRETARY CALLED IN PRCLO CHIEF HUANG CHEN ON JULY 7 FOR A 45 MINUTE PREVIEW OF HIS FORTHCOMING EUROPEAN TRIP, AND A BRIEF DISCUSSION OF BILATERAL RELATIONS. FOLLOWING IS A SUMMARY OF THE ISSUES COVERED.

2. THE SECRETARY BEGAN BY COMMENTING THAT HE HAD NOTED VARIOUS STATEMENTS BY CHINESE LEADERS TO OUR PRESS AND OTHERS ABOUT U.S.-PRC RELATIONS (AN INDIRECT REFERENCE TO TENG HSIAO-PING'S COMMENTS TO THE ASME EDITORS, AND THE CHOU-C.P. LI DISCUSSION.) HE THEN TURNED TO A REVIEW OF THE MIDDLE EAST NEGOTIATIONS. COMMENTING THAT THERE IS NOW SOME RENEWED MOMENTUM TO "STEP-BY-STEP" DIPLOMACY, HE SAID THAT THE U.S. WOULD PROCEED WITH UNILATERAL EFFORTS TO GAIN ANOTHER INTERIM AGREEMENT BETWEEN ISRAEL AND EGYPT BEFORE CONSIDERING A RESORT TO THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. HE COMMENTED TO HUANG THAT HE WILL BE MEETING WITH ISRAELI PRIME MINISTER RABIN DURING HIS STOP IN BONN LATER THIS WEEK.

3. THE SECRETARY STATED THAT HE WOULD BE MEETING WITH SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER GROMYKO IN EUROPE TO DISCUSS POSSIBLE MOVEMENT ON SALT, THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION, AND PERHAPS THE EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE. HE STRESSED THAT THERE WOULD BE

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NO SUMMIT MEETING LATER IN THE FALL WITHOUT SOME AGREEMENT ON STRATEGIC ARMS LIMITATIONS.

4. THE SECRETARY THEN VERY BRIEFLY REVIEWED PROGRESS IN THE EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE. HE SAID IT WAS LIKELY TO CONVENE AT THE END OF JULY, BUT THAT IT IS LIKELY TO PRODUCE NO MORE THAN MEDIOCRE RESULTS. HE THEN TOUCHED ON RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN INDIA, NOTED THAT THE PRC HAD ESTABLISHED RELATIONS WITH THE PHILIPPINES AND THAILAND, AND OBSERVED THAT WE (THE U.S. AND PRC) CONTINUE TO PURSUE COMPATIBLE POLICIES REGARDING JAPAN.

5. THE SECRETARY COMMENTED THAT HE ASSUMED THE CHINESE SIDE WAS FAMILIAR WITH THE PROPOSAL THE U.S. HAD RECENTLY MADE AT THE U.N. WITH RESPECT TO KOREA. HUANG MADE NO REPLY IN RESPONSE.

6. HUANG MADE FEW REMARKS DURING THE PRESENTATION, BUT AT THE END PRESSED THE SECRETARY FOR A MORE PRECISE ESTIMATE OF PROSPECTS FOR FURTHER DIPLOMATIC MOVEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST. HE EMPHASIZED CHAIRMAN MAO'S BELIEF THAT THE U.S. SHOULD FOLLOW AN EVEN-HANDED POLICY IN DEALINGS WITH THE ARAB STATES AND ISRAEL.

7. TURNING TO BILATERAL AFFAIRS, THE SECRETARY INQUIRED WHETHER HUANG HAD RECEIVED ANY REFLECTIONS FROM PEKING ABOUT THE POSSIBLE PRESIDENTIAL VISIT. HUANG NOTED THAT THE SECRETARY HAD BEGUN THE CONVERSATION BY COMMENTING THAT HE HAD SEEN VARIOUS COMMENTS BY PRC LEADERS IN THE PRESS. HE EXPLICITLY REFERRED TO VICE PREMIER TENG HSIAO-P'ING'S COMMENTS TO THE AMERICAN SOCIETY OF NEWSPAPER EDITORS' DELEGATION. HUANG REPEATED TENG'S COMMENT THAT IF THE PRESIDENT WISHES TO VISIT THE PRC, THE CHINESE WILL WELCOME HIM. HE FURTHER ELABORATED THAT IF THE PRESIDENT WANTS TO COME TO DISCUSS MATTERS THAT IS ALL RIGHT; OR IF HE PREFERENCES NOT TO DISCUSS MATTERS THAT IS ALL RIGHT TOO. IF THERE IS A MEETING OF MINDS IN THE DISCUSSIONS, ADDED HUANG, THAT IS FINE; BUT IF THERE IS NO MEETING OF THE MINDS, THAT IS ALSO FINE. THE SECRETARY INTERJECTED THAT PERHAPS THERE WERE INTERMEDIATE STEPS BETWEEN A FULL MEETING OF MINDS AND NO PROGRESS IN OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS.

8. THE SECRETARY THEN ASKED WHETHER HE SHOULD CONSIDER TENG'S PUBLIC STATEMENT AUTHORITATIVE. HUANG RESPONDED, "DOUBTLESSLY; WITHOUT QUESTION." HE THEN RECALLED FOR THE SECRETARY CHAIRMAN MAO'S COMMENTS TO EDGAR SNOW BEFORE THE NIXON VISIT TO PEKING WHICH MADE ESSENTIALLY THE SAME POINT (THAT A PRESIDENTIAL VISIT NEED NOT RESULT IN ANY PARTICULAR OUTCOME.) HUANG CONCLUDED BY SAYING, "SO IT IS MY PERSONAL OPINION THAT WE WILL NOT BRING

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ANY DIFFICULTIES ON OUR GUESTS." THE SECRETARY THEN CONCLUDED THE DISCUSSION BY SAYING THAT HE WOULD REPORT HUANG'S REMARKS TO THE PRESIDENT AND THEN DISCUSS CONCRETE ARRANGEMENTS WITH HUANG AFTER HIS RETURN FROM EUROPE.

9. COMMENTS: WE BELIEVE HUANG'S REMARKS ARE ABOUT AS DIRECT A CONFIRMATION AS WE MIGHT RECEIVE THAT PRC OFFICIALS ARE WILLING TO RECEIVE THE PRESIDENT WITHOUT PRECONDITION, AND THAT THEY WILL NOT CAUSE HIM ANY POLITICAL EMBARRASSMENT IF THE TRIP DOES NOT RESULT IN A DRAMATIC IMPROVEMENT IN U.S.-PRC BILATERAL RELATIONS.

STRICTLY FYI: THE SECRETARY IS NOW THINKING OF THE POSSIBILITY OF AN ADVANCE TRIP TO PEKING IN OCTOBER SHORTLY AFTER THE VISIT TO THE U.S. OF THE JAPANESE EMPEROR, BUT BEFORE THE BREZHNEV SUMMIT MEETING IN WASHINGTON. IF THE ADVANCE TRIP IS SATISFACTORY, THE PRESIDENT'S VISIT WOULD PRESUMABLY OCCUR SIX TO EIGHT WEEKS LATER; THAT IS, SOMETIME IN LATE NOVEMBER OR EARLY DECEMBER. THE SECRETARY IS ALSO CONSIDERING THE POSSIBILITY OF PARTIAL STEPS THAT THE PRESIDENT MIGHT TAKE SHORT OF A FULLY NORMALIZED RELATIONSHIP WITH THE PRC WHICH WOULD SUSTAIN THE MOMENTUM OF OUR RELATIONSHIP, BUT WHICH WOULD NOT REQUIRE A BREAK IN FORMAL RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN. THESE LAST TWO POINTS ARE OBVIOUSLY VERY SENSITIVE, AND ARE STRICTLY FOR YOUR EYES AT THIS POINT. THEY SHOULD NOT BE REFLECTED IN ANY CONTACTS YOU MIGHT HAVE WITH THE CHINESE. END FYI.

10. WARM REGARDS.
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